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A SERMON

Preached at the Magnificent

CORONATION

OF THE

Moſt High and Mighty

King CHARLES II.

King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the *Faith*, &c.

At the Collegiate Church of St. *PETER Weſtminſter*, The 23d of *April*, (being St. *GEORGE'S* Day) 1661.

BY

The Right Reverend Father in God, *George Morley*, Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*. and late Biſhop of *Winchester*.

Publiſhed by His Majeſty's ſpecial Command.

LONDON, Printed in the Year, 1661.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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To the Most High and Mighty

KING *CHARLES* II.

By the Grace of God,

King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most Gracious SOVERAIGN,

HOW *unwilling I am that any thing of mine ſhould be made* publick, *needs* (*as I conceive*) *no other proof but this, that I am now paſt my great* Climacterical, *and this is the firſt time that ever I appear'd in* Print: *Neither would I have done ſo now, unleſs your Majeſty's* own immediate *and* expreſs Command (*which in all things not* evidently *forbidden by God, is always to be* obeyed) *had obliged me to do it.*

And truly I am ſomewhat the more willing to comply with this Obligation; *becauſe ſince the Preaching of this Sermon I have been inform'd, that ſome Exceptions have been taken againſt it. As firſt in* General, *that I medled with matter of* State, *an Argument Excentrick to my* Profeſſion, *and Improper for the Pulpit. And* 2*ly, in* particular, *that by repeating and reviving ſome paſſed Miſcarriages, I had treſpaſſed againſt the* Act of Indemnity.

Now for Anſwer to the Former *of theſe Charges, I ſhall humbly offer it to your Majeſty's Conſideration, whether a Divine, even in the Pulpit, may not without exceeding the Compaſs of his Commiſſion, endeavour (as much as in him lies) to recommend to the Conſciences, and to endear to the Affections of his Auditors, the* legally eſtabliſh'd *Government both in Church and State; And what more effectual Motive is there to make Men conſcionably and chearfully to ſubmit to the* legally eſtabliſhed *Government, then by making it to appear, that it is the* beſt of Governments in it ſelf, *and the* beſt for them *alſo, by putting them in mind of the Miſeries they have brought upon themſelves by the Alteration of it, and of the unhappy Trials they have made of* all other forms *of Government that* differ from *it; and conſequently, how much they are obliged to be thankful unto God for being reſtored to it, and to be ſo much the more* Obedient *for the future to the Laws of it, for having heretofore ſo fooliſhly, as well as wickedly, revolted from it. Now if this be no Part of a Divines Buſineſs, or if a Diſcourſe of this Nature be Improper for a Pulpit, why doth God himſelf in Scripture command us to* put Men in mind of theſe things, *as he doth,* Tit. 3. 1. Rom. 13. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13. *and in many other Places? Or why are there* Homilies for Subjection, *and* againſt Rebellion, *commanded by Soveraign Authority to be read unto the People? Or laſtly, why are we enjoyn'd by the very* firſt Canon *of our Church, to preach four times a year at*

leaſt, upon this Argument, I mean, for the Aſſerting *the King's* Supremacy *and Soveraign Authority over all his Subjects? And conſequently, for the condemning of all taking up of* Arms againſt *him, as likewiſe all Pretences of Juriſdiction over him, or of Co-ordination with him, together with the exerciſing of any Power Military, Civil, or Eccleſiaſtical, that is not derived from him; which being all of them evidently inconſiſtent with the Kings Supremacy and Soveraignty, the* ſame Authority *which enjoyns us to preach for the* one, *muſt needs allow us at leaſt, to preach againſt the* other. *Which being as much, or more than I have done in this Sermon, I hope that neither Your Majeſty, nor any other impartial Hearer or Reader of it will blame me, for not keeping within the Verge of mine own Profeſſion, or for taking more Liberty than ought to be made uſe of in the Pulpit; eſpecially at* ſuch *a* time, *and upon* ſuch *an* occaſion, *when after ſo long a Series of ſeveral Forms of Tyranny and Uſurpation, Monarchy (which ſeemed to have been put to Death with Your Majeſty's* bleſſed Father) *was again Revived by Your Sacred Majeſties Perſonal Inauguration in ſo ſolemn, ſo magnificent, and ſo glorious a manner, beginning with as loud Shouts and Acclamations, as could be made here on Earth, and ending with much louder Shouts and Acclamations even from Heaven it ſelf: For they that take* that Voice *of God for a Sign of his being* diſpleaſed *with the foregoing Action, would perhaps (if they had been then preſent) have taken the ſame Voice of God for a Sign of his being diſpleaſed with* Chriſt's Baptiſm, *for it was in* Thunder *that he ſpake, even* then *alſo.*

But whether I am guilty of the firſt Charge, or no, in medling with Things improper for a Pulpit, which (if true) had been but an Indiſcretion *only; I am very ſure, I am not guilty of the ſecond, I mean, of ſpeaking any thing to the Prejudice of the* Act of Indemnity; *which had been an high* Preſumption *in any Man, and in* me *a Sin againſt* mine own Judgment and Conſcience.

For I humbly conceive, that whatſoever Promiſe *a Soveraign Prince makes unto his Subjects (ſo the matter of it be not ſinful) he ought in* Prudence, *as well as in* Conſcience *to* perform *it, yea tho perhaps he muſt needs* prejudice himſelf *by it. Becauſe a Soveraign Princes* Word, *being the beſt and higheſt* Security *he can give unto his Subjects, he were better ſuffer a very great Inconvenience by* keeping *it, then weaken the* publick Security, *or hazard the loſing of his* Credit *with his People by* breaking *it. Which Conſideration made that wiſe and great Prince* Henry IV. *Your Majeſties* Grandfather, *ſo Religious an Obſerver of his Word, that neither the Duke of* Mayne, *nor any other of his Subjects, that had formerly ſtood out againſt him, when they came to an Agreement with him, did ever deſire or demand* any other Caution *for Security of their Perſons and Intereſts, but the* Kings Word only. *And therefore God forbid, that I, or any Man elſe, ſhould dare to ſuggeſt any thing unto your Majeſty, either publickly, or privately, in order to the Violation of ſo* Sacred a Bond, *as the* Word of a King *is, and hath always been eſteemed to be.*

Eſpecially, when the thing it ſelf, *which a King hath granted, or given his Word for, is ſo* neceſſary *in order to the* ſetling *of himſelf, and of his Kingdom, as I believe an* Act *of* Indemnity *(at this time, and in this Conjuncture of Affairs) to*

be:

be: There being no other way (as I humbly conceive) after so general and long a Disturbance and Confusion, to compose and quiet Mens Minds by securing them from their Fears, or to beget a mutual Confidence betwixt the Prince and his People, without which, it is impossible either for the Prince or People ever to be happy in one another.

And therefore Your Majesty's Grandfather, *whom I before named, did not only pardon all his Subjects that came in to him (how much soever they had before offended him) but to secure them the better from their* Fears, *and to oblige them the more to his Service, he honoured some of them with Titles of great Quality, and with Offices of great Trust and Importance; and I do not find, that any of them gave him Cause to repent of it. And I hope Your Majesty will find the same Success that he had, in doing as He did; or rather as God himself did; when he did not only receive the Prodigal Child, but feasted him, and made as much of him, as if he had never given him Cause to be displeased with him, tho' his Elder Brother repined at it.*

But then, as Your Majesty hath been pleased to remember and imitate, what that most Exemplary Prince, Your Grandfather *did; so it will well become those, whom Your Majesty hath so much obliged, to remember and consider, what the same great and wise King used often to say, namely,* that tho' he would be always ready to make Peace with any of the Leaguers, yet he would never make Peace with the League. *His meaning was, that tho' he would pardon any that had engaged against him, yet he would never endure that the* Engagement *it self should afterwards be own'd, or justified by any of his Subjects; this being in Effect not an Act of* Indemnity *for what they had done against him for the time past; but an Act of* Allowance *for what they should do against him for the* future: *And consequently, not so much a* Pardon *of Sin, as an* Invitation *to Sin.*

Whereas an Act of Indemnity, as it is meerly an Act of Grace and Favour in him that grants it; so it supposeth both Confession *and* Repentance *of a Fault in him that receives it. And he that truly repents of a Fault, will not be angry when he is told of it; especially, when he is told of it by way of* Caution *against it, and not by way of upbraiding him with it, or for it. And how can a Preacher be said to upbraid any Man in particular, when he speaks against Sin in general? And that in Order to the humbling of all Men before* God, *and not to the shaming of any Man before* Men? *Especially, when in clear and express Terms he professeth, that it is* not *his* meaning, *to charge the meritorious Cause of God's Judgments upon any one* Party, *Order, or Sect of Men, and much less upon* any one Man *in particular, but upon the* whole Nation *in general, and consequently, as well and as much upon himself, as upon any of those that heard him?*

And now, if this be not enough to clear me from having any Intention in any thing I said, to derogate *from the Act of Indemnity, all that I have to say more is, that Your Majesty having heard me, and commanded me to print what I then spoke, must either absolve me, or suffer with me. And having this Security, I confess, I do not much apprehend, what* hath been, *or* can be *said of*

Your MAJESTY'S
most Humble and most Obedient Subject,
George Worcester.

PROV. XXVIII. 2.

For the Tranſgreſſion of a Land, many are the Princes thereof; but by a Man of underſtanding and knowledge ſhall the ſtate thereof be prolonged.

THE Queen of the *South*, (ſaith our *Saviour*, meaning the Queen of *Sheba*) came from the uttermoſt Parts of the Earth, to *hear* the *Wiſdom* of *Solomon*, Luk. 11. 31. And we read in the 4th of the firſt Book of the *Kings*, that not only the *Queen* of the *South*, but *ſome of all ſorts* of People were ſent from *all* the *Kings* of the Earth that had heard of him, upon the ſame Errand, namely, to *hear his* Wiſdom, and to learn of him, how to govern Themſelves and their Subjects as *he* did, that *they* might be as Happy in Themſelves and their Government as *he* was. And to this end may I ſay of *Solomon* (as the Scripture ſaith of *Abel*, Heb. 11. 4.) that *being dead He yet ſpeaketh.*

For tho' it hath pleaſed God to ſuffer *all* that *this* great King and wiſe Philoſopher hath written of natural Speculation (*from the Cedar to the Hyſſop, and from the greateſt of beaſts and fiſhes, to the leaſt of creeping things*, 1 King. 4. 33.) to be *utterly loſt*; as being a kind of knowledge that was more likely to puff up, then to edifie, and to make Men by too much poring upon the *Creature*, to forget or neglect to look up to the *Creator*: Yet as for that practical kind of knowledge, whereby Men become *better* as well as *wiſer* (whether it concerns us in Relation unto *God*, as *Divinity*; or in Relation to *our ſelves*, as *Morality*; or in thoſe Relations which *one Man* hath unto *another*, as the *Politicks* and *Oeconomicks*) in order to the making of us *honeſt Men*, *good Subjects*, *good Neighbors*, and *good Chriſtians*, whatſoever I ſay was written by *Solomon* to any of theſe ends, is all of it, or moſt of it, or at leaſt as much of it, as is ſufficient for our Uſe and Practice, yet extant in the Books of the *Canticles*, the *Proverbs*, and *Eccleſiaſtes*; of which the Firſt and the Laſt are almoſt wholly *Theological*: The Book of the *Canticles* being an *Holy Charm*, as it were, to draw us unto *Chriſt*, and to make us in love with him, by an *Allegorical*, but moſt *Emphatical* Deſcription of Chriſt's Lovelineſs in Himſelf, and of the Excellency of His Love unto us: And the other of *Eccleſiaſtes* being an *Holy Satyr* againſt the World and worldly things, written on purpoſe to wean us from them, by ſhewing us the Vanity and Vexation of them. But *this* Book of the *Proverbs* is a Divine Miſcellany or Mixture of Theological, Moral, Political and Oeconomical Aphoriſms or Obſervations: And thoſe not like

links

links of the ſame Chain, having a natural Dependance one upon another; but rather like Pearls upon the ſame ſtring, which tho' they are all of them equally uſeful and precious in their ſeveral kinds, yet few of them have ſo neceſſary a Connection with one another, but that we may take moſt of them aſunder, and conſider them apart by themſelves, without any Prejudice at all either to the Text or Context.

And thus we are now to conſider the Words I have read unto you, which are an Aphoriſm, or Obſervation partly *Political*, and partly *Theological*; for as it obſerves *many Princes* in a Land to be a National Calamity, ſo it is *Political*; but as it obſerves, that Calamity to be a national Judgment, or a Judgment of *God* upon the Land, for the Sins of the People of that Land, ſo it is *Theological*.

Again, as it obſerves, that by a *Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge* the State of a Land is prolonged, ſo it is *Political*; but as by a *Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge*, it means (as you ſhall ſee it does) a Man that underſtands and knows what *God* would have him to *do* and *does* it, ſo it is *Theological*; and ſeems to be the Obſervation, not of *Solomon* the *King*, or of *Solomon* the *Stateſman* only, but of *Solomon* the *Divine*, or of *Solomon* the *Preacher* alſo. And therefore as it deſerves a much better Preacher than I am, to diſcourſe upon it: So it may become the Greateſt of Kings, and Wiſeſt of Stateſmen to hearken to it. Neither can there be a more ſeaſonable occaſion than this for the Conſideration of it: And therefore, if it have not ſomewhat more than ordinary Influence upon our Affections for the preſent, and upon our Actions for the future, it muſt be, and I am afraid it will be my want of Skill and Ability, either to open it clearly, or to apply it pertinently, or to enforce it powerfully; which I hope, notwithſtanding all my Infirmities, God will give me Grace to do in ſome meaſure. Howſoever being by *Command* of my *Superiors* to ſpeak before a *great King* at *ſuch* a ſolemn *time*, and upon *ſuch* an extraordinary *Occaſion* as *this*, I would not preſume to do it, but in the *Words* of a *King*, and of ſuch a *King* as was both the wiſeſt of *Kings*, and the wiſeſt of *Men*, and that not of his own time only, but of all that ever was before him, or ever ſhall be after him. And therefore as he was moſt fit to preſcribe to *Princes*, how they are to *govern*, and to *Subjects* how they are to *obey*; ſo was he moſt able to foreſee and judge how and by what means a *State* and Kingdom might either be *ruin'd* or *preſerv'd*, and the date thereof either ſhortned or prolonged. For as the Body Natural, ſo the Body Politick is either ſhorter or longer liv'd, according to the good or bad Conſtitution of it, or according to the more or leſs Skill or Care of him that governs it; or laſtly, as there is more or leſs of the Fear of God in the Subjects of it. For tho' the Conſtitution of a State be never ſo ſound and healthful, and tho' he that ſits at the Helm be never ſo skilful and careful, yet if the Generality of the People be wicked and willful, God doth uſually puniſh the Madneſs and Folly of

ſuch

ſuch a People, with permitting them to be Inſtruments of their own Miſery, by changing the *beſt form* of Government under *one lawful Hereditary Prince*, into the *worſt* kind of Tyranny, under *many lawleſs Uſurpers* and *Oppreſſors*. For it is *for the Tranſgreſſion of a Land*, ſaith the wiſe Man in my Text, that *the Princes thereof are many: But by a Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge, ſhall the State thereof be prolonged.* Where from the Word [*But*] which ſtands in the middle of my Text, and divides the latter Clauſe of it from the former, we may collect that what *follows* this dividing Particle is to be underſtood in *Oppoſition* to that which is *before* it.

And therefore by a *Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge*, as there muſt needs be meant a *ſingle Perſon* in Oppoſition unto *many*: So the *ſingle Perſon*, that is here meant, muſt needs be a *Prince*, becauſe he is oppos'd not to *many* ſimply and indefinitely; but to *many Princes*: And then from this *Aphoriſm*, thus underſtood, we may conclude;

I. That *Plurality* of *Princes*, or the Government of a Nation or Land by *many Princes*, is a *National Judgment*, or a Great Judgment of God upon a Nation.

II. That *Monarchy*, or the Government of a People by *one Soveraign Prince only*, (eſpecially if he be a Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge,) is a great *National Bleſſing*, or a great Bleſſing of God upon a Nation.

And as we have found the *one* of *theſe* Concluſions to be true by *our own* woful *Experience* already; ſo I hope we ſhall find the *other* of them to be as true, by *our own* joyful *Experience* hereafter. And that this Nation of ours, which was ſo near periſhing under the Conduct of *many*, ſhall by *one Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge* not only be recovered from its former Diſtempers and Dangers for the preſent, (as thanks be to *God* for it, it is in a great meaſure) but ſetled and eſtabliſhed, and the State thereof prolonged (if it be not our own fault) for the future.

But as the *Paſſover*, the greateſt of the Jewiſh Feſtivals, was not to be celebrated without eating of *ſour Herbs*, to put them in mind of their former Slavery, and thereby to make them the more thankfully ſenſible of their preſent Liberty; ſo at *this* great Feſtival of ours, to make us reliſh the better our preſent Happineſs, and to prepare us the better for our future Hopes, it will not be amiſs to make a Reflection upon our paſt Sufferings, and the Cauſes of them, to the end that *God* being firſt juſtified in his *late* great *Judgments* deſervedly inflicted upon us, may afterwards be the more heartily magnified for his *preſent* great *Mercies* undeſervedly vouchſafed unto us.

We ſhall begin therefore with the former of theſe Concluſions, namely,

That *Plurality* of *Princes* in a State is a *great Judgment* of *God* upon a *Nation*.

Which may be proved, firſt *à priore*, from the *Cauſe*, and ſecondly, *à poſteriore*, from the *Effects* of it.

And firſt for the proof of it *à priore*, or from the *Cauſe*, we need go no further then my *Text*, which makes good this Concluſion in all the Parts of it.

For

For first, it proves to be a *Judgment*, because it is for *Transgression*, or because *Transgression* is the meritorious Cause of it; from whence by the way we may observe likewise, that if *Plurality* of *Princes* be for *Transgression*, then if there had been no *Transgression*, there would not have been a Government by *Plurality of Princes*; and consequently, that such a Government is originally neither from *God*, nor from *Nature*, nor from the Dictates of right *Reason*, but from *Sin*, which is always the meritorious, and sometimes the efficient Cause of it.

2ly, It appears from the Text, that *Plurality* of *Princes* is not only a *Judgment* because it is for *Transgression*, but a *National Judgment*, because it is for the *Transgression* of a *Land*, that is, of a *Nation*, or the Inhabitants of a *Land*, or because *National Provocations* are the Causes of it.

Thirdly, It may be proved from my Text likewise, that, as it is a National Judgment, so it is a *great* National Judgment, or a *great* Judgment of God upon a Nation, because it is not for any *ordinary* or *common* national Sin, but for the *greatest* Provocation that a Nation can be guilty of. For tho' פשע the Word in the Original which we translate *Transgression*, do indeed signifie a *Transgression*; because the greatest Sin as well as the least may be called a *Transgression*; yet the *Transgression* which is here meant is *such* a *Transgression* as *transgresseth* or *exceeds all other Transgressions*; for it is *Prevarication*, which is the literal, proper and most emphatical Signification of the Word פשע. And *Prevarication* (as the *Civilians* tell us) is a betraying of the Cause and Interest we would seem to maintain. As when *Divines* pretending to guide Men in the way that leadeth unto Heaven, do perswade them to do such Things as will bring them unto Hell; or when *Lawyers*, whose Office is to be Guardians of Liberty and Property, do by false glosses upon the Law justifie or excuse those that invade and oppress, and destroy both; or lastly, when *any Man*, *Sect*, or *Party* of Men, pretending to *serve God*, and the *King*, do indeed *serve themselves* and their own wicked Designs *against God* and the *King*. This is *Prevarication*, and for *such Prevarication* as *this*, doth God punish a *Land* (saith my Text) with *many Princes*; which must therefore be one of the *greatest national Judgments*, because it is the Punishment of one of the *greatest national Sins*; for so is *Prevarication*. And thus much briefly for the proof of my *first Conclusion à priore*, or from its *Cause*.

I proceed to the proof of it *à posteriore*, or from its *effects*. For as *great national Sins* are the *Cause*, so *great national Miseries* are the *effects* of *many Princes*; as will appear 1st from the Consideration of *Policracy*, or of a Government by *Plurality of Princes*, in its *own Nature*, or in the general: And 2ly, from the *Experience* we our selves have had of it in our own particular.

And first, it is true in it self and in the general; that where there are *many Princes* in a Land, there the People must needs be exposed to *many* and *great Miseries*.

But then by *Princes* we are not to understand such Princes as the hundred twenty seven were, that were feasted by *Ahashuerus*, under *whom* they were the *Governors* of so many several *Provinces*; nor such Princes as are now in

France, *Poland*, *Naples*, and other *Kingdoms*, who are but Princes in *Name only*; and tho' ſome of them greater than others, yet all of them ſubject and ſubordinate to *their own Soveraign* Princes. For of *ſuch* Princes there may and perhaps ought to be *many*, that is, more or fewer according to the Grandeur of the Monarch they live under. And yet there may be *too many* even of *this kind* of Princes alſo; as when the Sun of Soveraign Majeſty, from whence they borrow and derive their Light, is either eclipſed by their Magnitude, (as it was in *England* in the time of the Barons Wars) or clouded by their Multitude; or when the Title and Dignity it ſelf is embaſed and prophaned by admitting too many, and too mean Perſons to be Partakers of it. But of *this* the Soveraign Prince is the *only* and *beſt Judge*, neither are theſe the Princes my Text ſpeaks of.

For by *many Princes* in my Text, are meant ſuch as are, or take upon 'em to be *Soveraigns* in the *ſame Land* or State; and that *not ſucceſſively*; for then, how could they be oppos'd to a *ſingle Perſon*, ſeeing in that Senſe they would *all* of them be but *ſo many ſingle* Perſons ſucceeding one another? And beſides, I cannot ſee, why *many* Princes in *Succeſſion* ſhould be ſaid to be a *Judgment* or a Puniſhment inflicted by God upon a Nation for their Sins; and therefore by *many Princes* in my Text muſt needs be meant *many pretending to Soveraignty* in the *ſame Country* at the *ſame time*.

And this may be either when the Country is *cantoned* into many ſeveral Independent Principalities, by ſetting up *many* petty Soveraignties inſtead of *one*, or when the *Soveraign Power* over a whole Nation is *ſhared* and *exerciſed by many*; whether they be more, as in a Republick or Democracy; or fewer, as in a State or an Ariſtocraſy.

And firſt for the former way of *Polycracy*, or having *many* Princes, by *cantoning* the Country, and making *ſeveral diſtinct Bodies* of the ſeveral *Members* of the *ſame Body* politick, it is that which was attempted by *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, when they told *Moſes* he *took too much upon him*, becauſe *he alone* did govern in chief all the Twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*. And you know what the Iſſue of that Attempt was, namely, the ſudden Death of almoſt 15 Thouſand Men, beſides the ſwallowing up quick of ſome, and the burning alive of others of the Conſpirators, together with their Wives and Children, and all that belonged unto them; as you may read in the 15th Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*. The ſame was afterwards attempted by *Abner* upon a *pretence* of *Zeal* for his Maſters Houſe, but indeed by *dividing Iſrael* from *Judah*, to govern *Iſrael himſelf*; as he did during the War betwixt the Houſe of *David* and the Houſe of *Saul*, which was a long and a bloody one, ſaith the Text; as ſuch Wars uſe to be, when a whole Nation is engaged to fight againſt it ſelf, and to cut one anothers Throats to gratifie the Malice or Ambition of a few. But that which was but *attempted* by *Dathan* and *Abner*, was ſhortly after *effected* by *Jeroboam*, who *divided Iſrael* from *Judah*, beginning a War, which neither he nor his Succeſſors could ever make an End of, till *Iſrael* and *Judah* being weakned, and waſted, and conſumed

ſumed by one another, became a Prey to the *Aſſyrian*, who at length ſwallowed them up both. And thus (to ſay nothing of other Nations, which of old and of late have been *thus Cantoned*) our own Country of *England*, of a *Monarchy* became an *Heptarchy*, by ſetting up of 7 ſeveral Soveraignties in the time of the *Saxons*, which never left encroaching and warring upon one another, till all of them were reduced again under one. By all which Inſtances it is evident enough, that there cannot be *many Soveraign* Princes over *ſeveral Parts* or Provinces of the *ſame Country*, without much Effuſion of Blood in the erecting, and great Oppreſſion of the People for the maintaining of them. And conſequently, that the having of *many Princes* in *this Senſe* muſt needs be a great Judgment upon the People.

And yet 2ly, it is as bad or worſe for the People; when the *Soveraignty* over the *whole*, which *ought* to be veſted in *one*, is uſurped and ſhared, and exerciſed by *many*; who, whether they be more, or fewer, do always under a *pretence* of *Law* and *Liberty* aſſume unto themſelves an Illegal, Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, and that as really in a Senate or *Ariſtocracy*; tho' not ſo groſsly and viſibly, as in a *popular State* or a Democracy.

For even in a *Senate*, (where *many* govern in *chief* with *equal* Authority) ſuppoſing them (as we muſt needs ſuppoſe them to be) Men ſubject to the ſame Paſſions, Appetites, and Infirmities as all Men are, there will always be Jealouſies, Envyings, and Emulations amongſt them; and where there are Jealouſies and Emulations, and *no Superior* Authority to check and overrule them, there muſt needs be Factions and Diviſions alſo; and where there are Factions and Diviſions among thoſe that govern, there the *Government* it ſelf muſt needs be obnoxious to many Dangers and Difficulties, both in Adminiſtration of Juſtice at home, and in defending themſelves againſt Enemies abroad; there being nothing more natural or more uſual in ſuch kind of States, than the ſacrificing of the publick Intereſt to private and particular Concernments; whilſt every Man is apt to gratifie himſelf, and his own Covetouſneſs, Ambition, or Animoſity, by becoming a Penſioner to any other *State* that will give moſt for him; and to gratifie his own *Party* at home, by thwarting and croſſing and crying down whatſoever is ſaid or done by the contrary Faction, tho' the State it ſelf be often endangered, and ſometimes ruin'd by it. As we ſee it hapned in the State of *Carthage*, where *Hanno* and the reſt of his Faction to comply with their own Envy and Malice againſt *Hannibal*, they forced that great Captain to quit *Italy*, and the Proſecution of his Victories for want of Supplies, tho' by drawing *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, they drew the *Romans* into *Africk*, and ſaw *Carthage* and themſelves made Slaves to *Rome*, rather than they would endure *Rome* ſhould be ſubdued by *Hannibal*. So powerful, and ſo miſchievous are the Paſſions of Covetouſneſs, Ambition, Envy, Malice, and Revenge, where there is *no Authority* to prevent or reſtrain the *dangerous Malignity*, and *Effects* of them, as there is not, where the Soveraignty is equally ſhared amongſt many. And yet tho' they differ in all things elſe, they will always agree in this, to enrich their own

private Families as much as they can, by drawing not as much as is needful, or can be ſpared, but as much as is to be had, or can be extorted from their poor Subjects. And yet ſuch is the Simplicity, and Folly of ſome deluded People, that they could be content to beggar themſelves and to become Slaves indeed, to purchaſe the empty Name of a free State, or a free born People; as ſome of us would have done, and ſome of our Neighbours have done, who are as arbitrarily governed, and as heavily taxed, as the Vaſſals of the Grand Seignior himſelf: Whereas if they were wiſe, they would conſider, that ſuppoſing a Soveraign Prince were indeed a Tyrant, yet the Tyranny of a *State* or *Senate* would be much more grievous and inſupportable than any one Soveraign Prince can be; and that not only becauſe it is eaſier and ſafer, and cheaper to ſatisfie the Luſt, the Covetouſneſs, the Cruelty, or any other inordinate or immoderate Paſſion of any *one Man*, than of *many*; but likewiſe, becauſe the Tyranny of one Man is, as himſelf is, *mutable* and *mortal*; for a bad Prince may, and many times does mend; and whether he *mend*, or no, he muſt *end*, and a better may ſucceed him; but the Tyranny of a *State* is, as the *State* it ſelf is, *immutable* and *immortal*. A Tyrannical *State* being nothing elſe but a *ſtanding Tyranny*, or a Succeſſion of ſeveral Men in the ſame *Tyrannical Form* of Government. Whereunto may be added, that a Soveraign Prince knowing himſelf, and none but himſelf lyable both to the blame and ſhame of whatſoever is amiſs in matter of Government, as having no Partner or Sharer in it, upon whom for excuſing himſelf, he may transfer the blame of it, he will always have the Reſtraint of *Shame* (if he have not the Reſtraint of *Conſcience*) upon him; and conſequently ſuppoſing he feared not *God*, nor what he could do unto him; yet he will care for *Men*, and what they are likely to ſay of him. But where the Soveraignty is in *many*, and all of them for all things they do equally accountable in the general, none of them thinks himſelf accountable either to God or Man, for any thing in his own *particular*; and therefore cares not how the one is provoked, or the other injured, as long as he thinks it is the *State*, and not *he*, that is to anſwer for it. And States, being Bodies without Souls, have neither Conſcience to awe them, nor Shame to reſtrain them from doing any thing. So that it ſeems to be a Judgment of God upon a Nation when it hath many Princes at once even in this Senſe. I mean when the Nobility or ſome of the better Sort of the People do ſhare betwixt them the Soveraignty over all the reſt.

And yet this is the beſt kind of Polycracy, or the beſt kind of Government under more *Princes* than one. Becauſe it is better to be ſubject to *fewer* than to *more*, and to ſome of the beſt and nobleſt, as it is in a Senate of *Ariſtocracy*, than to a *Multitude* of the worſt and baſeſt of the People, as it is in a *Democracy*, or that which is commonly called a Republick, which notwithſtanding all its vain Pretences to Freedom, Equity and Equality, is abſolutely the *worſt* of all kind of Government whatſoever.

1. Becauſe it is moſt *unnatural*; for tho' it be monſtrous enough for one

Body

Body politick to have *more heads* than one, yet it is much more monſtrous and unnatural, when that which ſhould be the *Body* is the *Head*, or when the *Body* and the *Head* are but one confus'd, undiſtinguiſh'd *Maſs* or lump; there being in a popular State no Difference betwixt thoſe that govern, and thoſe that are governed, unleſs it be this, that thoſe that ſeem to govern, are indeed Subjects; and thoſe that ſeem to be governed, are indeed Soveraigns, the Magiſtrates in a Common-wealth being *Servants* and *Vaſſals* unto the People, as being created by them, and accomptable to them, and conſequently always in danger and fear of them.

II. As this kind of Government is moſt *unnatural*, ſo it is moſt *unreaſonable*; for what can be more *unreaſonable* than that the wiſeſt, the juſteſt, the moſt valiant and moſt virtuous Perſons (which are always the *feweſt*) ſhould be governed by ſuch as are Fools, or Knaves, or Cowards, or vitious and vile Perſons? Which are always the *major* Part, and conſequently muſt needs domineer and give Law to all the reſt, where all Things are carried by *Plurality* of Voices, as they are, where the *Soveraign Authority* reſides in the Body of the *People*; which are moſt of them ſuch, as were intended by *God* and *Nature* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) to be *Servants*, as being of low and ſervile Diſpoſitions, and ſuch as have not Wit enough to govern themſelves, and much leſs to govern others.

As *this kind* of Government is moſt *unnatural* and *unreaſonable* in its *Frame and Conſtitution*, ſo it is moſt inſolent, injurious and tyrannical in its Managery and Adminiſtration. And that 1ſt, in regard of the Peoples *Folly* and *Credulity*, which makes them apt to be abuſed and deceived by falſe Informations and Miſrepreſentations of Things and Perſons; and apt to be perſwaded by thoſe that *flatter* them moſt, againſt thoſe that *counſel* them beſt, miſtaking their Friends for their Enemies, and Enemies for their Friends; and from thence apt to magnifie and exalt the one, and to diſgrace and undo the other. 2ly, In regard of their *Levity* and *Inconſtancy*, which makes 'em raſh and inconſiderate in their Deliberations, ſudden and precipitate in their Reſolutions, and conſequently irreſolute and variable in their Affections, and in their Actions; *crying up* that to day, which they will *cry down* to morrow, and oftentimes condemning and executing as *Traitors* and *Malefactors* thoſe whom they had a little before applauded and adored as their Tutelar Gods and Saviours. 3ly, In regard of their *Fears and Jealouſies*, which as weak Men, ſo weak States are always moſt ſubject unto. And theſe Fears and Jealouſies make them ſuſpect whatſoever is above their Capacities for Plots and Conſpiracies; and make them look jealouſly upon *Men* that are eminent, as if becauſe they may do harm, they cannot be innocent, ſo that the more wiſe, or virtuous, or valiant any Man is in a *popular State*, or the more he hath deſerved of his Country by noble and heroical Actions, the leſs ſafe he is, becauſe when any Man ſeems to excel and out-grow others, he preſently becomes the Fear and Envy of all. And then whatſoever any of his Enemies, or any mean or baſe Companion will accuſe him of, is greedily heard

and eaſily believed; and whatſoever can be ſaid for him by himſelf or by his Friends, doth but haſten his Condemnation; becauſe it is his *Merit* that is his *Crime*, and that which ought to make him beloved and honoured, is that which makes him to be feared and hated. Thus were *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides* and *Alcibiades* rewarded by the People of *Athens*; thus were *Corialanus*, *Camillus* and *Scipio* the *African* rewarded by the People of *Rome* after all their meritorious Services. And thus ſhould *Julius Cæſar* (after he had added *Gaul*, *Germany* and *Britany* to the *Roman Empire*) have been rewarded by the ſame People of *Rome*, if he had not prevented it, by taking that Power, they would have uſed againſt him, away from them. And now conſider I beſeech you, whether there can be a worſe form of *Government*, than where either the State it ſelf, or the worthieſt and beſt deſerving Men in a State muſt needs be ruin'd; and where the State hath no other way, but by Ingratitude and Cruelty, to ſecure it ſelf againſt the *beſt* of its own Subjects; and when the beſt Subjects, after they have done the beſt Service, have no way, but by *Rebellion* and *Parricide*, to ſecure themſelves againſt their own Country. Whereunto may be added in the *laſt* place the *Aptneſs* of the common *People* in any State, and much more in a *Popular State*, where there are under no Reſtraint, to be ſuddenly incenſed and tranſported by the violence of their own *Paſſions* beyond all rules and bounds of Religion, of Reaſon, of Modeſty, of common Honeſty, nay of Humanity it ſelf, to do the moſt abſurd, extravagant and outragious Actions, without conſidering, or caring, or fearing what may be the Iſſue of them. Eſpecially when thoſe that are ſo apt to kindle of themſelves, are ſet on fire and inflamed by their ſeditious *Demagogues*, I mean their *Orators* and *Preachers*, who being Men of turbulent and unquiet Spirits, are never pleaſed themſelves, nor will ever ſuffer the People to be content with their preſent Condition, but are always either ſecretly whiſpering falſe Fears and Dangers into their Heads, or openly complaining and inveighing againſt *Things* and *Perſons*, as prejudicial to the publick Good, till at length they ſo poyſon, and enrage their fooliſh Auditors, that there is nothing ſo difficult or dangerous, but they will attempt it, nor nothing ſo injurious or impious, that they will ſtick at it; neither is there any Remedy for their Rage, or cure for their Madneſs, till theſe *Fiends* that poſſeſs'd them, are caſt out of them; which I am afraid will hardly be done by *faſting* and *Prayer* only. Such were *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, who ſtirred up the People againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*; ſuch was *Sheba* the Son of *Bichri*, who blew a Trumpet and ſaid; *we have no Part in* David, *neither have we any Portion in the Son of* Jeſſe, *every Man to his Tents O Iſrael*: Such were the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, who made the *People* cry out, *Crucifie him*, *Crucifie him*, meaning their *King*, and their Saviour, and to chuſe *Barabbas* rather than *Jeſus*. Such was *Demetrius* the Silver-ſmith, who with one ſeditious Oration *filled with uproar the whole City of Epheſus*. To conclude, ſuch were *Cleon* the *Tanner* of *Athens*, the *Gracchi* at *Rome*, and many other ſeditious Orators in both thoſe Common-wealths: And ſuch are now-a-days

many

many of the Preachers amongſt Chriſtians: Who are by ſo much the more wicked, and execrable in themſelves, and dangerouſly pernicious to a State, than any of thoſe Heathen Orators were, by how much more damnable a Sin it is, to make uſe of *Scripture* than of *Sophiſtry* to wicked and ungodly Ends; and by how much more dangerous it is, for Men to be miſguided by their *Conſciences*, than by their *Paſſions*, the one being but a fit of *Frenzie*, which will ſoon over, and the other being a *ſettled* and a *ſober Madneſs* which is hardly cured. And in this reſpect a popular State is much worſe amongſt *Chriſtians* than ever it was or could be among *Heathens*. And yet even amongſt *Heathens*, it was by the wiſeſt of them accounted the worſt of all Governments, as *Thucydides* and *Ariſtotle* confeſs, tho' both of them were born and bred in a popular State, and were as able as any to judge of it.

And yet the Evils I have hitherto ſpoken of, are but ſuch as *every popular State* is ſubject unto, even when it is orderly and regular (I mean as orderly and regular as a *Popular State* can be) and that is when the Body of the People governs it ſelf by Laws, and Civil Magiſtrates of its own making; but there is a *kind* of *popular Government*, when a Part of the *People* being got into Arms, governs by the Sword and military Officers of their own chooſing, and this is *Stratocracy*, or military kind of *Democracy*; which muſt needs be a much more terrible and inſupportable Yoak than the former; becauſe beſides its being ſubject to all the Evils and Inconveniences before ſpoken of, it is always able to do all the Miſchiefs it hath a mind to do, without oppoſition in the doing of it, and without fear of being puniſhed for it. And this is indeed *to rule with a Rod of Iron, and break the People in pieces like a Potters Veſſel.*

And now there is but one way more of having *many Princes*, or *more Sovereigns* than one in the ſame Kingdom, and that is as dangerous and as inconſiſtent with the publick Peace, as any of the former: Namely, the ſetting up of *two Scepters*, two Law-givers, or two ſupream Judicatories, the one *Civil*, and the other *Eccleſiaſtical* in one and the ſame State; which *two ſupream Judicatories* muſt needs have *two ſupream Judges* without Subordination of the one to the other, and without Appeal unto the one from the other: And conſequently when they differ (as they muſt needs do often) about the Rights and Extent of their ſeveral Juriſdictions, the People will not know which of them to obey, being threatned by the *material Sword*, if they obey the one, and with the *ſpiritual Sword*, if they obey the other; ſo that ſuch a State muſt needs be divided within and againſt it ſelf; and then *Chriſt* himſelf will tell you it cannot ſtand.

So that it muſt needs be ill for the People in what Senſe ſoever they have many Princes; whether it be by *Cantoning* the Country into Parts, or by ſharing the Soveraignty of the whole, either amongſt *many*, as in *Ariſtocracy*, or amongſt *all*, as in a *Democracy*, or amongſt the *Sword-men* only, as in a *Stratocracy*; or laſtly, by dividing the Soul of the *State* from the Body, the *Church* from the *Common-wealth*, and by making two Soveraigns, one in Cauſes *Civil*, and the other in Cauſes *Eccleſiaſtical* over the ſame Subjects, whether the *Conclave*, or the *Conſiſtory* be the Cauſe of it. In all which caſes

I ſay,

I say it is a *Judgment* of God upon a Nation to have *more* Princes than *one*, as I hope I have made it appear both from the *Causes* and *Effects* of it.

But notwithstanding all the Evidence can be given of this Truth, either from Scripture or Reason, from the Cause, or the Effects of it, we would not believe it till we felt it. And therefore in the third place it hath pleased God, because we were like *Beasts without understanding*, to teach us, as he doth Beasts, by our *Senses*, and to visit us of late, as much or perhaps more than ever he did any Nation with this very Judgment, I mean *Plurality* of Princes in all its kinds and degrees, and with almost all the Effects of it.

For after we had said in our Hearts *nolumus hunc regnare super nos*; I mean, assoon as we had rejected that *Excellent Prince*, who only had Right by all *Laws human and divine* to reign over us, presently many of our Fellow-subjects took upon them to be our Princes, and to govern us arbitrarily at their own Pleasure, in order to their own avaritious and ambitious Ends. And that first in an *Aristocratical* way, as a *Senate* or *Council* of State, wherein nothing could be done without Consent of some of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*. But it was not long (after *Royalty* was gone,) but *Nobility* followed, and was excluded also. And then came in *Democracy* or the Government of the common People by their own Representatives only; which increased the Number of our Princes, and the Vileness of our Slavery by the meanness of our Masters. But these their own *Mercenaries* did quickly deprive of the Power they had usurped and abused; and then came in *Stratocracy* or the Government by the Sword, and thereby we had as many Princes as there were *Bashaws* or *Major Generals*, who perhaps, if they had out-liv'd their great *Sultan*, they would have *canton'd* the Kingdom, and erected their several Provinces into so many several Principalities. But by this means the very *Name* of Liberty and Property, which were before pretended, were quite taken away. Only there was *Liberty* enough and too much, indeed a lawless, boundless *Licence* in matter of *Religion*; all ways of worshipping God being allowed, but the true one; and all admitted to the sacred Function, but such as were *lawfully called* unto it: In the mean time every *Sect*, had its *Head*, and every one that was *Head* of a *Sect* was *Prince* of a *Party*; so that we have seen what it is to have *many Princes*, nay we have felt it to be a sore Judgment by the terrible Effects of it; which did spread themselves over the Face, and through the Veins, and into the Bowels of the three Kingdoms; at once embracing, involving, and confounding all Places, all Persons, and all Conditions, publick and private, high and low, sacred and prophane: For from the King in his Throne, to the Beggar in the Dust, no Thing, Place, or Person almost hath been without *feeling* some or other the terrible Effects of this Judgment. How many have lost their Limbs, their Liberty, their Country, their Estates, their Friends, and have been reduced to extream Poverty, both at home and abroad? How many Noble and Antient *Families* have been ruin'd? How many goodly Buildings and *Churches* (the glorious Evidences and Monuments of our Ancestors Piety and Charity) have

have been prophaned and defaced? How many poor innocent Perſons of both Sexes, all Ages, and all Conditions, have been either murder'd or baniſh'd, or impriſon'd, or oppreſs'd with Extortion of all kinds, and of all Degrees without Poſſibility of Help, or Hope of Remedy? Laſtly, how many poor *Souls*, for which *Chriſt died*, have been betrayed into *Rebellion* and *Sacrilege*, Schiſm and Hereſie, Uncharitableneſs and Cruelty, by the horrible Abuſe of *Preaching*, *Praying*, *Faſting*, *Vowing*, and all other the ſacred Ordinances of God?

And now if our poor Country, (when ſhe felt theſe painful Strugglings and Convulſions within her Bowels) ſhould have ask'd, as *Rebecca* did (when ſhe felt *Eſau* and *Jacob* ſtriving within her Womb) *If it be ſo, why am I thus?* There could no other Reaſon be given her for it, but this in my Text, *It was for her Tranſgreſſion*, it was for the *Tranſgreſſion* of the *Land*, it was for our National Sins of Atheiſm, of Profaneneſs, of Sacrilege, of Hypocriſie, of Idleneſs, of Gluttony, of Drunkenneſs, of Uncleanneſs, of Pride, of Hereſie, together with our *Prevarication* againſt God, or our treacherous dealing with God, in pretending to ſerve him beſt, when we diſhonour'd him moſt; nay in pretending to ſerve him, when we intended to ſerve our ſelves of him, by making uſe of his Name, his Word, and his Ordinances, in order to the palliating, promoting, and effecting our own ungodly and unrighteous Deſigns. Theſe I ſay were our National Sins, and by theſe or ſome of theſe we have all of us contributed to the Provocation of this *Judgment*. So that they were not the *Sins* of the *Court* only, nor of the *City* only, nor of the *Country* only, nor of any one particular order of Men (whether *Clergy* or *Laity*) and much leſs of any one particular *Man* or *Party* of Men, that we can ſay were ſingly and abſtractedly the Cauſe of our Calamities; no it was too *great*, too *univerſal*, to be the Effect of little or few Provocations; they were therefore the *Sins* of the whole Nation, the Sins of all and every one of us, which riſing up as a *Cloud* from us, fell down again in a *Shower* of Judgments upon us; ſo that there is not one of us, to whom it may not truly be ſaid, *Perditio tua ex te*, thou haſt deſerved whatſoever thou haſt ſuffer'd: For if the beſt of us had been as good as we *might*, and *ought* to have been, it would not have been in the Power of the *worſt* of us, to have made us ſo miſerable as we were. Indeed if all of us had not rebelled againſt God, none of us would have rebelled againſt the King; at leaſt their Rebellion would not have proſpered as it did; and conſequently the Soveraignty would never have been ſhared amongſt ſo many, as it was. Which as at firſt it was the Effect of our Sins, ſo it hath been ever ſince the Cauſe of our Miſeries. And as the Conſideration of the former, namely, that our having of many Princes, was an effect of the Sins of us all, or of our national Sins, will make us inſtead of judging, condemning, upbraiding, and hating one another, to judge, condemn and abhor our ſelves, and conſequently to juſtifie God in his *Judgments* upon us all; ſo the Conſideration of the latter, namely, that the having of *many Princes* hath been the *Cauſe* of

all our late many and great *Miseries*, will first convince us of our former Folly, in believing so easily as we did, those, that upon false pretences of bettering our Condition by a change, did perswade us (as the *Serpent* did *Eve*) out of the *Paradise* we were in, because something or other, which perhaps we had a mind to, was wanting to us. 2*ly*, It will arm us against the like *Temptation* for the future with a Resolution never to *meddle any more with those that are given to change*. And *lastly*, it will make us the more *thankfully sensible* of Gods infinite Goodness and Mercy, in delivering us from the Slavery we were in under the *Tyranny* of many (which is, as we have found it to be, the greatest of National Judgments,) and restoring us again to our former Freedom and Happiness under *one Lawful Hereditary Soveraign Prince*, which is (and I hope we shall find to be so) the greatest of *National Blessings*.

And this was my 2*d* Conclusion, deduced from these Words in my Text. *But by a Man of Understanding and Knowledge the State thereof shall be prolonged*: Where (as I told you before) by a *Man of Understanding and Knowledge*, as there must needs be meant *one single Person* in opposition to those *many* which the former Clause of my Text speaks of; so by that one single Person must needs be meant such an one as is a *Prince*, *a Soveraign Prince*, because the *Man* here spoken of is opposed not to *many simply* and *indefinitely*, but to *many Princes*.

And indeed no private Person, tho' a Man of never so much Understanding and Knowledge, is able to prolong a State, because that is a Work which requires not only Wisdom and Prudence to conduct it, but Soveraign Power and Authority to perform it.

And yet I will not deny, but that it may be sometimes in the Power even of a private Man to do much towards the Recovery and Preservation, and consequently the prolonging of a State; as we read *Epaminondas* the *Theban* did, when being but a private Man, he rescued his Country from the bondage of the *Lacedemonians*: The like did *Thrasibulus* a private Man also, when he delivered his Country of *Athens* from the Thirty Tyrants: And so did *Camillus*, who was not only a private but a banished Man, when he recovered *Rome* from the *Gauls*.

But what need we Instances out of foreign Antiquity? When we have a *modern Example* of our own (to the honour of our Nation be it spoken) which equals, and exceeds all I have named, or can name, in deserving from his Prince and from his Country, by his Courage in attempting, his Prudence in conducting, and his Felicity in effecting, that generous, glorious, and heroical Design, whereby he hath at once redeemed his Country both from Slavery and Infamy, by restoring the King to his People, and the People to their King; and withal, hath purchased unto himself Honour without Envy, Greatness with Safety, and (which is the best Reward of Virtue in this World) a perpetual Satisfaction and Complacency in himself, for having so nobly performed his Duty. And this was indeed to be a *Man* of *Understanding*:

derſtanding: Whereas others, who being private Men, would needs be Princes, tho' they thought themſelves *Men of Underſtanding*, have proved themſelves *Fools*; their Heads being lifted up indeed, but ſo as they little thought they would be, and themſelves, after they had blazed and bluſter'd for a while, going out like a ſnuff, and have left nothing but a ſtink behind 'em.

But to return to what we have in hand; tho' it be true (as I have ſaid before) that any private Man may do ſomething (at leaſt by his *Prayers*) and ſome private Men may do much towards the preſerving and prolonging of a State, if they be *Men of Underſtanding and Knowledge*, that is, if they underſtand and know how to ſerve their Country, by ſerving of their Prince, either in Peace by their Counſels, or in War by their Courages; yet it is the *Prince himſelf*, who underſtanding and knowing how to ſerve himſelf of ſeveral Mens Abilities in their ſeveral Profeſſions, doth indeed preſerve and prolong the State of his Country. And *ſuch a Prince*, ſay I, is the *greateſt Bleſſing* of God upon a Nation: Becauſe the State or flouriſhing Condition of a Nation, ſaith *Solomon*, is preſerved and prolonged by Him.

So that according to the Judgment of *Solomon*, (that is) according to the Judgment of the wiſeſt Stateſman that ever was, or will be in the World. In order to the prolonging of a State, there muſt,

I. Be *one Soveraign Prince.*

II. *That Soveraign Prince* muſt be a *Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge.*

And then 3*ly*, he muſt ſo make uſe of *that Underſtanding and Knowledge*, as that his own and his Peoples Happineſs may be procured, and preſerved, and prolonged by him.

And firſt, in order to the procuring and prolonging the Happineſs of a Nation, it muſt have one Soveraign Prince (that is) the Government of it muſt be *Monarchical*: And of this there needs little more to be ſaid for the proof of it, than what hath been ſaid already for proof of my former Concluſion, and what we our ſelves have felt already by the late Tryal we have made of all other forms of Government; together with the Uneaſineſs we found under them, and the Miſeries we have drawn upon our ſelves by 'em; from whence we may undoubtingly conclude, that at leaſt, *for us of this Nation, there is no other form of Government but Monarchy, under which we ever were, or ever can be happy.*

Whether all other forms of Government be always, and abſolutely unlawful, I will not take upon me to determine; *ſtent aut cadant Domino ſuo*, let them ſtand or fall to their own Maſter: But as Chriſt (when he was ask'd, whether it were lawful for a Man to put away his Wife) anſwer'd, *à principio non fuit ſic*; ſo may I ſay of all other forms of Government except *Monarchy*, *à principio non fuit ſic*, from the beginning there was no ſuch Government: For as God made *Man* upright at firſt, becauſe he made him after his own Image, ſo he made the Government of *Mankind* upright at firſt alſo, becauſe he made it after the *Image* of his own *Government*; which ſurely is *Monarchical*. And no doubt it was God's *Intention*, it ſhould always continue

to be ſo; becauſe as we find no Example of any other Government of his approving, ſo we find no rule of Direction for any other Government; nor no Precept of Subjection to any other *Government* of his preſcribing: Thoſe we are commanded to ſubmit to by *God's Word*, being either, οἱ βασιλῆς, ὡς ὑπερέχοντες, *Kings* as *Supream*; or οἱ πεμπόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, *ſuch are ſent and ſet over us by Kings*, as is evident from the whole Book of God in general, and from 1 *Pet.* 2. *v.* 13, 14. in particular.

And indeed till the World was above 3000 years old, there was *no other Government* in it but *Monarchy* only. For in *Homers* time all *Greece* had *Kings*, and they were the *Grecians* from whom the οἱ Ἄριστοι and the οἱ Πολλοὶ, *Ariſtocracy* and *Democracy* had their beginning. For the *Greeks* being Men of ſubtle Wits and unquiet Spirits, finding *Monarchy* to be a curb to their Ambition, they deviſed ſuch forms of Government, wherein the *Soveraignty* being not confin'd unto one, but ſhar'd amongſt many, every Man might hope to have his turn and his part in it: From the *Grecians* by their Colonies were theſe *Hereſies* and *Innovations* in Government derived to ſome few other Nations; but as they ſpread not far, ſo they continued not long; for at the coming of *Chriſt* there was nothing but *Monarchy* in the World; ſo that *Monarchy* as it was inſtituted by God at the *Creation*, ſo it ſeems to be *reſtored* by Chriſt at the Redemption of Mankind, and to be recommended both by the *Father* and the *Son* as the beſt and only form of Government for all Nations. And indeed *Nature* it ſelf doth ſeem to recommend it, and that not only becauſe every *Species* of all *Creatures* whatſoever ſeems to have a Subordination to ſome one of the ſame kind; but likewiſe becauſe amongſt *Men* alſo, thoſe that have no other rule but the *Light* of *Nature* to live by, I mean, thoſe of *America*, and other lately diſcovered Nations, as there be none of them without ſome Government, ſo none of them have any other form of Government, but *Monarchy*.

Now as *Monarchy* is more natural and more according to *divine Inſtitution*, and conſequently a *better* form of Government than any other; ſo of *Monarchies*, that which is by *Succeſſion* is much more natural and much more according to *divine Inſtitution*, than any other kind of *Monarchy*. I mean, than that which either is by *Uſurpation*, or by *Election*.

And firſt it is better than *Monarchy* by *Uſurpation*; for as *no Man can take to himſelf the Honour or Office of a Prieſt*; ſo much leſs can any Man take to himſelf the *Honour or Office of a King*; but he muſt have it from *God himſelf*, either by God's own immediate Deſignation, as *Moſes* and the *Judges* had (for the *Judges* were *Kings*) and as *Saul* and *David* had; or by God's ordinary way of Diſpenſation, which was by *Succeſſion* of Children unto their Fathers: According unto which Method, as Families grew into Nations, ſo *Paternal Government* grew into *Regal*, and conſequently an *Uſurper*, as he hath no *claim* to *divine Inſtitution*, ſo he hath no Title to *divine Benediction* or *Protection*. And beſides, becauſe what is gotten by the *Sword*, muſt be maintained by the *Sword*, an *Uſurper* muſt be a *Tyrant*, whether he will, or no. Laſtly, a

Monarchy

Monarchy by *Uſurpation* is *Res ſine titulo*, a Poſſeſſion without a Title; which ſeldom laſts long, or ends well, for *he that takes the Sword ſhall periſh by the Sword*, ſaith our Saviour. *Mat.* 26. 52.

Again, as *Monarchy* by *Uſurpation* is *Res ſine titulo*, ſo *Monarchy* by *Election* is *titulus ſine re*, a Title without the Thing; for *Elective Kings* are but *Conditional Kings*; and *Conditional Kings* are *no Kings*. Beſides, a *King* is to have the *Power* of *Life* and *Death*, which none, that have it not themſelves, can give unto him: And therefore, how he that is *Elected* by thoſe that have not the *Power* of *Life* and *Death*, comes to have the *Power* of *Life* and *Death*, and conſequently how he comes to be a *King*, is, as I conceive, not eaſie to imagine. But ſuppoſing an *Elective King*, to be indeed a *King*; yet conſidering firſt, the Dangers and Inconveniences of *Inter-regnum's* or *Ceſſations* of Government betwixt the *Death* of one King and the *Election* of another; 2ly, the *Factiouſneſs* and *Partiality* of the *Electors*, together with the *Envy* and *Emulation* of the *Competitors*; 3ly, the neceſſity of him that is choſen, to gratifie thoſe that choſe him, with the *prejudice* of thoſe that were againſt him. And laſtly, conſidering that every *Elective King* hath a particular *Intereſt* of his own; divided from that of the *Publick*, and conſequently, that it is more than probable, that he will have more reſpect to the *Intereſt* of his Family, wherein he is to be ſucceeded by his Children, than to that of the *Kingdom*, wherein he may be ſucceeded by a Stranger; conſidering all theſe things, I ſay, we may well conclude, that *as Monarchy is the beſt form of Government, ſo ſucceſſive, hereditary Monarchy is the beſt form of Monarchy*; becauſe where there is an *undoubted Right*, there is no need of Tyranny to ſupport it, as there is in an *Uſurpation*; and becauſe, where the Princes and the Publick Intereſt is the *ſame* (as it is in *Hereditary Monarchy*) there is no need of *defrauding* the *one*, to provide for the *other*, as there is in *Elective Kingdoms*.

But yet even of *Hereditary Monarchies* one may be more deſirable than another, as a *Political* rather than a *Deſpotical*; for a *Deſpotical Monarch* governs his *Subjects* as a *Maſter* doth his *Servants*, arbitrarily according to his own Will and Pleaſure, whether it be right or wrong; but a *Political Monarch* governs his *Subjects* as a *Father* doth his *Children*, by equal and juſt Laws, made with their own conſent to them, the former is the Government of the *Turk* and *Muſcovite*; the latter is, or ought to be the Government of all *Chriſtian Kings*; I am ſure it is of ours; and therefore *ſuch a kind of Monarchy* as ours, is not only the moſt *juſt* and *reaſonable*, but the moſt *plauſible* and *popular* Government of *all others*. Eſpecially, if the *Supream Governor* be ſo qualified, as he ought to be, and that is (ſaith *Solomon*) if he be a *Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge*.

And firſt, he would have him to be a *Man*; for *woe unto thee, O Land*, (ſaith the ſame Wiſe Man) *when thy King is a Child*, Eccleſiaſtes 10. 16. *But bleſſed art thou, O Land*, (ſaith he in the very next Words) *when thy King is the Son of Nobles*; ſo that it ſeems *Solomon* would have *his Prince*, neither to be a *Child*, nor an *Upſtart*, or a Man meanly born; not a *Child* becauſe

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even then his Authority, though it may be Abuſed, is to be Obeyed; not an *Upſtart* or a Man of *mean Birth*, becauſe ſuch a one being to govern *better* Men than *himſelf*, he thinks there is no way to prevent their Contempt of him, but by making himſelf by his Cruelty to be feared by them; And hence it is that *Aſperius nihil eſt humili cùm ſurgit in altum*, mean Perſons, when they are mightily Exalted, become Cruel and Inſolent, and Imperious in their own Defence; whereas thoſe, that are *Born great*, need not venture the being Hated, for fear of not being Reverenc'd by their Subjects, who have always an *inbred Reverence* to the *Royal* Blood and Family (if they be not Debauch'd from it;) even whilſt the *Prince* is but a *Child*; and much more if he be a Man, and a Man before he is a *King*; A *Man* at his full Growth of Mind as well as of Body, and of Body as well as of Mind; even juſt *ſuch* an *one*, as we may imagine *Adam* to have been, when he was newly made *Monarch* of the *World*; but till a King be a Man, we know not what kind of Man he will be, either for his *Perſon* or for his *Parts*; whereas when we ſee him a Man, and ſuch a Man as we would wiſh to be our King, though he had not been *Born* to be *ſo*, we are very unworthy of him, if we be not very Thankful to God for him. We know, that the Comlineſs and Gracefulneſs of a private Man's Perſon, and much more of a *Prince's*, doth exceedingly either excuſe the Defects, or ſet off the excellency of his Parts, and wonderfully endears him. And whatſoever he does or ſays unto his People; for, *Gratior eſt pulchro veniens de corpore virtus*; the ſame things ſaid or done by a comely or uncomely, by a graceful or ungraceful Perſon, have very different Operations and Effects in the Minds of Men. *Philip de Comines* tells us, that our *Edward* IV. (who, as he ſaith, was the goodlieſt Gentleman that ever he he ſaw) got twice Poſſeſſion of *London* and the *Crown*, by the *favour* of the People, whom the Beauty and Excellency of his Shape had gain'd unto him: So that it is a great Felicity in a *Soveraign* Prince, when it cannot be ſaid of him, as it was of *Galba*, *Galbæ ingenium malè habitat*; but rather, that he hath *formam Principe dignam*, a Shape worthy of a Prince; ſuch an one as *Saul* had, then whom, (ſaith the Text) *there was not a goodlier perſon among all the children of Iſrael*; as well for the ſymmetry of his Limbs, as the tallneſs of his Stature; or ſuch an one as *Abſalom* was, in whom (beſides his goodly Head of Hair) *from the ſole of his foot to the crown of his head* (ſaith the Text) *there was no blemiſh*: And no doubt it was by this ſilent Rhetorick (I mean, the Comelineſs and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon) as well as by his Courteous and Fair Language, that he *ſtole away the Hearts of the People*, which tho' it ill became a *Subject*, yet nothing can more become a Soveraign Prince, than to have it in his Power to Captivate by his Looks, and by his Words the Hearts of his People at his Pleaſure, without being at any Charge at all for it.

But if beſides Comelineſs and Gracefulneſs of Shape; Courteſy, and Affability of Speech and Behaviour, together with Gravity, and yet Serenity, and Benigneſs of Aſpect, there be a Vigorous Manlineſs in his Mind, and a Promiſe of Long Life in the Healthfulneſs of his Conſtitution, I know not what

what is to be wiſhed for more, but that he may have *Mentem ſanam in corpore ſano*, that the Beauty of his Mind may be anſwerable to the Beauty of his Body; as it will be, if he be a *Man of Underſtanding and Knowledge*, or ſuch an one, as *underſtands* and knows how to make Himſelf and his People Happy.

And *Firſt*, he muſt be a *Man of Underſtanding*, and then of *Knowledge*: Becauſe, if a Man have not ſome Meaſure of *Underſtanding*, he is not capable of *Knowledge*; as we ſee Natural Fools and Madmen are not. Again, tho' a Man have *Underſtanding* to ſuch a Degree, as to make him capable of the *Knowledge* of many things that are well worth the Knowing, yet if he have not *Judgment* and *Diſcretion* to make *uſe* of *that Knowledge*, or if *that Knowledge* make him never a whit the *Wiſer*, it were as good for Himſelf, and the World too, that he *knew nothing*: For, though a Man have read never ſo many Books, and ſeen never ſo many Countries, and ſearch'd never ſo many Languages, and gone through never ſo many Arts and Sciences; yet if he be not *naturally* a *Man of Judgment* and *Underſtanding*, he may be a *Fool* for all this; nay, he may be a much more *incurable Fool*, than he would be otherwiſe; becauſe his knowing ſo much makes him think himſelf Wiſe, when indeed he is not: And this is *ſuch* a *Fool*, as *Solomon* ſaith, *Tho' you bray him in a Morter, yet will not his fooliſhneſs depart from him*; *Prov.* 27. 22. which makes good our *Engliſh* Proverb, that *the greateſt Clerks, are not always the wiſeſt Men*; or as it is more ſharply expreſs'd in the *Scotch* Dialect, *an ounce of Mother Wit is worth a pound of Clergy*.

Again, becauſe there may be a *bad* as well as a *good uſe* made of a Man's natural Underſtanding and of his Knowledge too; therefore if a Man have not ſuch an Underſtanding, as to make a right uſe of his Wit and of his Knowledge, in order to his own, and the Publick good, it were better for ſuch a Man and the World too, that he had no Underſtanding nor Knowledge at all; for theſe are the Men, whoſe Underſtanding and Knowledge the Devil makes uſe of, as he doth of his own Serpentine ſubtilty for the diſturbing, diſtracting, and confounding of States and Kingdoms. But the Underſtanding my Text ſpeaks of, *preſerves* and *prolongs States* and Kingdoms. And therefore by a *Man of Underſtanding* in my Text, is meant one that may be truly ſo called; not in a Natural Senſe only, but in a Moral and Theological Senſe alſo; one that hath good *Morals*, as well as good *Intellectuals*; one that is not Biaſſed by his own Paſſions, nor ſwayed by the flattery of others; one that can, and doth conform his *Will* and *Affections* unto his *Reaſon*, and his *Reaſon* it ſelf to *God's Will* revealed in his Word; as knowing, his *own Reaſon* may deceive him, but *God's Word* rightly underſtood (which is *God's Reaſon*) cannot.

To conclude, by a *Man of Underſtanding* in my Text, is meant one that hath an *underſtanding Heart*, as well as an *underſtanding Head*, *Vir cordatus*, as the old Latins called a wiſe Man. And indeed generally through the whole Scripture, *Wiſdom* is aſcribed to the Heart, or ſeated in the Heart; thereby implying, that *true Wiſdom* conſiſteth rather in *Practice* than *Speculation*, and in doing our Duty, rather than in knowing of it; ſo that a Man may be a

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very wise Man in the Sense of the World (as all crafty Men are) though never so False and Wicked, and a very Fool in the Sense of the Scripture, which calls every *good Man a wise Man*, and every *wicked Man a Fool*, according to that of DAVID, *The fool hath said in his Heart there is no God*, Psalm 14. and according to that of *Job*, To *fear the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from Evil that is understanding*, Job 28. 28. And that's indeed the understanding a *Soveraign Prince* ought to have in order to the making himself and his People happy; but *not exclusively* to a *good natural* Understanding, for he must have *that* too; because otherwise, he that is to see with other Mens Eyes, and to hear with other Mens Ears, and to execute his Commands by other Mens Hands (as *Princes* do,) may easily, and will frequently be impos'd upon, unless he be able to Discern clearly, and to judge rightly of Men, as well as things, and of their Morals, as well as their Intellectuals: For an *understanding Prince* will take heed how he trusts or employs a vitious or an impious Person in any Charge of Importance; because where he sees neither *Piety* nor *Honesty*, he can never be secure of such a Man's *Fidelity* any longer, than such a Man's *own Interest* and the *Princes* is the same.

Besides, a Prince that hath not a sound and solid Judgment of *his own*, tho' he have never so wise a *Counsel*, yet he can never be sure that he is well advised by them. Because the wisest and best Men are but Men, that is, such as may have an Eye to *themselves*, and their own particular Interest, more than to the Publick: But the *Kings*, and the Publick Interest being always the same, if he be a *Man of Understanding*, he will easily discern, whether the Counsel, that is given him, be in order to the Publick Interest, or no; and accordingly, either admit it, or reject it. And therefore the Question, "Whether it be better for the People to have a weak King and a wise Coun-"cil, or a wise King and a weak Council, is very well decided by *Machi-"avel*, that of the Two, *it is much better to have a wise King, and a weak Coun-"cil*; though indeed, it be not to be imagined, but that a *wise King* will always have a *wise Council*: For if he do not find them so, he will quickly make them so. But that *other Question*, "Whether a Prince ought to be *Vir-"tuous* and *Religious indeed*, or in *appearance only*, is very ill decided, by the "same *Machiavel*: As if it were necessary indeed for a Prince to *appear Virtuous* and Religious, but not necessary for him to be so; whereas no doubt if it be necessary for him to *appear* Virtuous and Religious, it must needs be much more necessary for him to be Virtuous and Religious: For whatsoever advantages he may have upon the People by seeming so, the same and more he may have by *being so*, besides the Blessing of God upon him and his People for *his* sake: But this *Machiavel* perhaps did either not think of, or not care for.

Besides, I cannot see how a Prince can be said to be a *Man of Understanding*, if he do not *Master* his *Passions* by his *Reason*, and if he do so he must needs be Virtuous indeed, and not in Appearance only; neither do I see, how a Prince especially a Christian Prince, that believes there is a Providence here, and a

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Judgment hereafter, can be a *Man of Underſtanding* if he do not ſeek the Protection, and Aſſiſtance of the One, and endeavour to Secure himſelf from the danger of the other; and if he do ſo, he muſt of neceſſity be Religious in Deed, and not (as *Machiavel* would have him) only ſeem to be ſo.

But it is *Solomon's*, not *Machiavel's* PRINCE we ſpeak of; and therefore he muſt be a *Man of Underſtanding*, not in *Machiavel's* Senſe (which is to be a Man of Falſhood and Diſſimulation) but in *Solomon's* Senſe, which is to be a Man of Virtue and Religion. And then he will be Wiſe for the Preſent, and Wiſe for the Future, Wiſe for Himſelf, and Wiſe for his People alſo.

Eſpecially, if he be a Man not of *Underſtanding* only, but of *Knowledge* alſo; and indeed if he be a Man of Underſtanding, he will be a Man of Knowledge; for he will underſtand that his Underſtanding it ſelf muſt be perfected by Knowledge. For though the Underſtanding be Naturally, Morally, and Religiouſly never ſo well diſpoſed; yet ſeeing of it ſelf it is but a meer Capacity, it can inform the Soul of no more, than what it ſelf is inform'd of by the Senſes, becauſe *Nihil eſt in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in ſenſu*; this kind of Knowledge is neither *Innate*, nor *infus'd*, but *acquir'd*: So that as a Man muſt have a *good Underſtanding* to make him capable of *Knowledge*, and to enable him to make a good uſe of that Knowledge; ſo he muſt have Knowledge likewiſe, to furniſh, improve and perfect his Underſtanding. And therefore a Soveraign Prince, eſpecially a great Monarch, who hath many Millions of Bodies and Souls too, under his Conduct; as he ought to have a clear, a ſound, a ſolid and a *capacious Underſtanding*; ſo ought that Capacity to be filled, and beautifyed and adorned with the beſt, the choiceſt, the moſt neceſſary and moſt excellent Notions, Maxims and Habits, that humane Nature is capable of, or moral Induſtry can attain unto. For ſeeing no humane Capacity is comprehenſive enough to excel in *all things*; therefore the moſt *Excellent Perſons* will apply themſelves to the Knowledge of the moſt *Excellent things*, that is, ſuch as beſt become them, and ſuch as moſt concern them. I remember I have read that *Philip* of *Macedon* finding his Son *Alexander* playing skilfully upon the Lute, *art thou not aſham'd my Son* (ſaid he) *to be ſo skilful a Muſician?* Thereby implying, that to looſe their precious *time* in learning *little* and *low Arts* doth not become *Princes*.

The truth is, that all Knowledge worthy of a *Prince* is reducible to theſe Two Heads, the Art and Science of *governing himſelf*, and the Art and Science of *governing his People*.

In order to the governing of himſelf, he is to conſider himſelf either as he is a *Man*, and as he ſtands in relation to *God* only; or as he is a *Prince*, and ſtands in relation to *God* and *Men* alſo.

In the *Firſt* of theſe Conſiderations, he is to deveſt himſelf of all his *Majeſty*, and to look upon himſelf as made of the ſame *Clay*, and of the ſame *brittle Conſtitution* that other Men are; that he came into the World as other Men did, and muſt go out of the World as other Men do; for though *Princes* are called Gods, *yet they ſhall dye like Men*, ſaith one that was a Prince himſelf, *Pſal.* 82.7. and tho' they be accomptable *to no* Tribunal here, yet they

are to be judged hereafter, and Judged by One, who is no *respecter of Persons*, and from whom *no Secrets can be hid*. And for this reason a Prince is to consider how careful he is to be of *governing himself*, not according to that Licence, which his Exemption from the Penalty of humane Laws may prompt him to, but according to that strictness which the severity of the Divine Justice doth require of him, "*For those that can be punished by none but God, shall* "*be sure to be most severely punished by God, if because they can be punished by none* "*but him, they presume the more to Sin against him.*

And therefore the best way for a Soveraign Prince, who is *not subject* to the Judgment of Men, to secure himself from the Judgment of God, is to *Judge himself*, and to exercise his Kingly Authority, first *within* and upon *himself*.

First, by Curbing, Restraining, and Regulating the Inordinateness and Immoderateness of his own Passions.

Secondly, By keeping a strict Guard and Watch over his own *Senses*, that his *Eyes* may not look after Vanity, nor his *Ears* hearken unto Flattery.

And *Thirdly*, By carefully fortifying himself against *all Temptations*, especially such, as are most agreeable unto him, and therefore most likely to Prevail with him. Always remembring, that *Fortior est qui se, quam qui fortissima vincit Mœnia*, that Conqueſt is the Glory of Princes, and that no Conqueſt is so glorious as that over a Man's own Self; "*For he that hath once master'd him-* "*self, will afterwards find nothing too hard for him.*

But this Consideration is common to *Princes* with other *Men*;

And therefore, *Secondly*, he is to consider himself as he is a Prince, and as he stands in relation to his People and to God too; I mean, as he is God's *Representative* unto the People, and to govern the People in *God's stead*. Now as in the former Consideration he could not be *too humble*, so in this Consideration, he cannot be too Majestical, nor too careful of keeping up the Dignity of his Quality, nor in exacting *that Reverence* which is due to God's Vicegerent from the greatest as well as from the meanest of his Subjects; For *tanti eris aliis, quanti tibi fueris*, is a Truth, which all Men in Authority, especially Soveraign *Princes*, ought to consider, and to behave themselves accordingly; doing nothing *unworthy* of their Greatness, or that may lessen them in the Eyes of their People. For there be many things that are not only excusable, but commendable in private Men that are not so in *Princes*. And even of things that are lawful in themselves, all are not expedient for all Persons of all Conditions. And here the Rule is, "That such things that are most agree-"able to our Inclination, are to give place to such things as best become our "Condition, especially when our Condition is such as that many Thousands besides our selves are concern'd in it. It is a notable saying that of *Nehemiah*, *Should such a Man as I flee?* Nehem. 6. 11. And I wish that all Men in Authority, especially Soveraign Princes, would have that Reverence unto themselves and to their quality, as when any Suggestion from within, or Temptation from without, prompts them to the doing of any thing unworthy of them, they would say unto themselves as *Nehemiah* did, shall such a Man as I,

that

that am the *Repreſentative of God*, and therefore ought to be like God in Greatneſs, in Goodneſs, in Juſtice, in Mercy, in rewarding thoſe that do well, and in puniſhing thoſe that do evil, ſhall I do any thing that is either Mean, or Sinful, or Unjuſt, or Cruel, or that may any way diſhonour the Perſon I repreſent? Again, ſhall ſuch a Man as I, that am appointed by God to govern others, ſhew my ſelf ſo weak, as not to be able to govern my ſelf, and mine own Paſſions? *Laſtly*, Shall ſuch a Man as I, that am to be an Example to all others, carry my ſelf ſo that others by my Example may be the worſe Subjects unto God, and conſequently the worſe Subjects unto my ſelf alſo? God forbid; for ſeeing how apt the People are to follow the *Example* of their Prince, eſpecially in that which is evil; Princes ought, for their Peoples ſake, as well as for their own, to be very careful how they behave themſelves, eſpecially in publick, where all Mens Eyes are upon them. But becauſe the People, tho' they are apt enough to follow the ill, yet they are not ſo apt to follow the good example of their Princes; it is not enough for a Prince to be a *good Man*, and conſequently to give a good example; but he muſt be a *good Prince*; that is, ſuch a one as knows how to make his Subjects ſuch as they ſhould be, by the ſeverity of his Laws, if they will not be perſwaded to be ſo by his example. *Eli* we know was a good Man, and ſo was our *Henry* VI. but neither of them was a good Prince, and therefore they were both of them unhappy in themſelves, in their Families, and in their Subjects. So that a Prince is not only to go before his People by way of example, but he is to make them follow him, by countenancing, encouraging, employing, and rewarding thoſe that are virtuous, pious, induſtrious, and Men able and willing to do God and Him ſervice, either in the *Church* or *State*; as likewiſe to diſcountenance, diſcourage, caſhiere, and puniſh ſuch as are vicious, and impious, eſpecially atheiſtical and profane Perſons, who are the Plague-ſores of Courts and States, and ſuch as ought to be abhorr'd by all Men, eſpecially by Princes; who being God's *Vicegerents*, are above all other things to take care of God's Honour and Worſhip, and conſequently not to ſuffer thoſe that openly either deny him or affront him, to live under their Protection, and much leſs to receive any countenance or favour at all from them.

By this means, one good *Prince* will do more good towards a publick *Reformation* both in Church and State, than never ſo many or never ſo good *Preachers* (without ſuch a Prince) will do, or can do. As appears by the many Reformations that were made in the Kingdom and Church of *Judah*, whereas none at all were made in the Kingdom and Church of *Iſrael*; the reaſon whereof was, not becauſe there were not as good Preachers, and as great Prophets, but becauſe there were not as good Kings in *Iſrael* as there were in *Judah*: For *Iſrael* had its *Elijah's* and *Eliſha's*, the greateſt of Prophets; but it had not its *Hezekiah's* and *Joſiah's*, the moſt pious of Kings; and they are pious and good Kings that muſt make a pious and good People, by providing ſuch ſubordinate Governors under themſelves both in *Church* and *State*, I mean ſuch *Magiſtrates* and *Judges* for the one, and ſuch

Biſhops and *Miniſters* for the other, as may give a good account of the great Truſt which by God and the King is committed to their care.

And now when a Soveraign Prince knows how to govern himſelf both in relation *to God and to his People*, he will the better know how to govern his People in relation to *Himſelf*, and in order to His own and their Happineſs.

And *this* indeed is the *Knowledge* which is proper and peculiar to Princes as they are Princes. *Excudant alii ſpirantia mollius æra, &c.* Let others excel in other Arts; but in *Arte benè imperandi*, in the *Art of Governing well*, (which is *Ars* Ἀρχιτεκτονική, the Miſtris of all Arts,) *Princes* ought to excel *all Men.*

Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento;
Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos:
Hæ tibi erunt Artes.

But no Man can excel in any Art that doth not ſtudy it, and with intention of Mind apply himſelf to it, by making uſe of thoſe Means that are neceſſary for the acquiring of it, and for the making of himſelf perfect in it. I remember *Xenophon* in his Κυροπαιδεία obſerving that all kind of *Cattel* are ordinarily and eaſily govern'd by thoſe that have the *charge of them*, without Rebelling againſt them, or Revolting from them; and yet that *Societies of Men*, who are *reaſonable Creatures* (and for that Reaſon one would think much more governable) are rarely and difficultly kept in order by their Princes, ſeems very much to wonder at it: But then conſidering likewiſe, that *Cyrus* (of whom he writ) did govern infinite multitudes of Men of ſeveral Nations, Languages, and Manners, as eaſily and quietly as ever any *Herd* of *Cattel* was govern'd by their Herdſman, he concludes it is neither *impoſſible* nor very *difficult* to do as he did, if *Princes* would ſtudy the *Art of Governing*, and apply themſelves to it, and were as well qualified for it as he was.

So that in order to Governing well, a Prince muſt firſt be qualified for it, and Secondly he muſt mind it, and make it his buſineſs by applying himſelf to it.

To *Qualify* him for it, many things are neceſſary, eſpecially theſe Two: *Firſt*, The *Knowledge* of *humane Nature* in *general*, how it works, and how it is wrought upon; and *Secondly*, the *Knowledge* of the *particular Genius* and *Diſpoſition* of the *People* he is to govern.

In order to the former, it is a great Felicity when a *Prince*, before he begins to govern at *Home*, hath ſeen much of the World *Abroad*, eſpecially thoſe parts of the World with which he is likely to have moſt to do; when he hath learn'd their Languages, obſerved their Manners, by Converſing with them in their *Camps*, and in their *Courts*, and hath conſidered their *Intereſts*, both as they relate to his own, and to other Nations. This is a great advantage, I ſay, in order to his future Government, when a Prince happens to have ſuch an *Education*. And hence it is that both *Homer* and *Virgil* (the one in his *Ulyſſes*, and the other in his *Æneas*) meaning to give us the Pattern or *Idea* of a perfect Prince, they make them both to *be long abroad* amongſt *Foreign Nations*, before they ſettle at *Home*; and ſo was our *Henry* VII, one of our ableſt Princes.

Neither

Neither is it amiss for a *Prince*, in order to the felicity of his *future Government*, to be for a time under a *Cloud*, and to be hardned both in his Body and his Mind by suffering Affliction, and thereby to know his *Friends* from his *Enemies*, both at home and abroad; an important advantage, which no Prince that never was in Adversity, can have, or make use of. Besides, Princes that are bred up in that School of *Affliction*, are commonly much more prudent, and patient, and wary, and thrifty, and more inclinable to Piety, to Charity, to Clemency, to Modesty, and Moderation in time of *Prosperity*, and to all other Moral and Religious Virtues, than they would be otherwise. And therefore we see that God thought fit to breed up the *Man after his own Heart* in this School of *Affliction*; and perhaps it was his breeding in this School that made him to be so: However, it is evident, that even after he was King, God would not admit him to the *Exercise* of his Kingly Power, till he had spent some years under this *Discipline*; which is the very Case of our *present Soveraign*, as well as it was *Davids*; and therefore I doubt not but God had the same Design in the breeding of them both; namely, to make them as glorious afterwards by their *Actions*, as they had been formerly by their *Sufferings*: Neither do I doubt, but our *David* will do as that other *David* tells us he did, *He will rule us prudently with all his Power.* Psal. 78. 71.

But *Ars longa, Vita brevis*; no one Princes own Experience is sufficient to make him a Master of this Art: He must take in therefore the *Experience* of *former Ages*, as well as of his own, and consequently he must spend some time in *Books* as well as in *business*; especially in *Histories*, whereby he shall be truly and impartially inform'd, how, and by what means some Princes in all Ages have made themselves *happy and glorious*, and others have made themselves *miserable and infamous*: And (considering that ordinarily the same *Causes* produce the same Effects) a wise Prince will imitate them in his *Actions*, to whom he desires to be most like in his *Fortune* and *Reputation*.

More especially he ought to acquaint himself with the *Histories of his own Nation*, that he may not be a Stranger at home, but may know the particular temper and humour of his own People, and how he is to apply himself to them, to make himself honour'd, and obeyed, and beloved by them; carefully observing which of his *Predecessors* were so, and which of them were not so, and what difference it was in their Actions, which produced that difference in their Subjects Affections, and in their own Fortunes.

But of all other Books, let him especially acquaint himself with the *Book of God*; which *David* (tho' no Prince had less time to spare from Action) made his daily study, nay he studied it *night and day*, as himself tells us: And good Reason had he to do so; for by reading this Book *he came to have more Understanding than all his Teachers*, Psalm 119. 99. as he tells us in one place; nay to have *more Wisdom than all the Antients*, verse 100. when he was yet young, as he tells us in another place; and to be *wiser than all his Enemies*, vers. 98. (not excepting *Achitophel* himself) as he tells us in a third place.

But tho' all that is written in Gods Book was written for our *Instruction*, yet

yet becauſe all of it was not written for the Inſtruction of Kings, as they are Kings, I wiſh Kings would find leiſure to read ſo much of it at leaſt, as was written of *Kings*, or by *Kings*; I mean the Books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, wherein they will find the beſt Direction they can have in point of *Government* by way of Example; together with the *Pſalms* of *David*, and the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, wherein they will find the beſt Inſtruction that can be given them in order to the ſame end, by way of Precept and Counſel. Or if this be ſtill too much, that they would but read *once a week* the *Votum Davidis*, that *Vow of David*, (as I may ſo call it) I mean the 101 *Pſalm*, which tho' it be but a very ſhort one, yet as I conceive, what moſt concerns a King, in order to the governing of Himſelf, his Family, and his Kingdoms, is either expreſly or virtually contained in it.

And now when a *Lawful Hereditary Soveraign Prince* is thus qualified, when he is of as Antient and as Royal an Extraction as any Prince can be (as having all the Royal Blood of *Europe* concentred in his Veins) when he is comely in his Perſon, healthful and vigorous in his Conſtitution, graceful and obliging in his Behaviour, of a clear, ſound, and ſolid Underſtanding, improved by an extraordinary Education, ſeaſoned by Affliction, confirmed and perfected by the Knowledge of Men, Books, and Buſineſs; when a Prince, I ſay, *Is thus qualified*, and withal intends the Work he hath to do, by an actual Application of his Mind to it, and by a careful and conſtant Proſecution of it, have we not reaſon to believe that ſuch a Prince is mark'd out by the Divine Providence for ſome Great and Glorious Work or other? And what can be a greater or more glorious Work, than the ſettling and prolonging the State of a great *Empire*, after it hath been ſo much, and ſo long ſhaken and ſhatter'd, as this of ours hath been? And what more evident Prognoſticks can we have, that this, and none but this is the Man mark'd out by Heaven for the effecting of this great and glorious Work, than thoſe, which the *Star* at his *Birth* did point to, and which we our ſelves have ſince ſeen come to paſs with our own Eyes? Eſpecially in the Two moſt Memorable and moſt Remarkable Particulars. I mean, 1ſt, his almoſt *miraculous Preſervation* from many and great *Dangers*, eſpecially in, and after the Battle of *Worceſter*: And 2ly, his as much if not *more miraculous Reſtitution* to his *Crown*, after his 2*d Exile*. The immediate Hand of God indeed was viſible in *them both*; but (as I think) more ſignally and more remarkably in the *latter*, than in the *former*; for many Princes perhaps have in as wonderful a manner eſcaped as great dangers; but was it ever heard of in the *World* before, that a *King*, after having been ſo long excluded, and after the Government it ſelf of his Kingdom hath been ſo often changed, and after a new Generation of Men, that knew not *Joſeph*, was ſprung up in it; nay, that even when the moſt violent Men againſt him, and moſt irreconcileable Men to him were in Poſſeſſion of the *preſent Power*, and were enacting a *ſolemn Abjuration* of him, that *then*, even *then*, I ſay, ſo beyond and above the *hopes* of his Friends, ſo contrary to the Deſires and Expectations of his Enemies, and ſo much to the Amazement of the whole World, he ſhould be ſo ſolemnly

invited,

invited, ſo magnificently conducted, ſo triumphantly received, and ſo joyfully and univerſally acknowledged and welcomed by all the Subjects; and all this without *Blood*, without *Blows*, without *Bargain*, and without any *Obligation* at all to any *foreign Prince* or *State* for it? And is not this as much as if God ſhould have ſaid to us in plain terms, *behold the Man*; *behold your King*; *behold Charles the Sufferer*, the Son of *Charles* the *Martyr*; the Grand-child of *James the Wiſe* on the one ſide, and of *Henry the Great* on the other, and *Heir* to the ſeveral Excellencies of them both: *Behold the Man*, that muſt build up the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, and make up the Breaches in *Sion*, by reſtoring and ſettling whatſoever is yet wanting, either in regard of our Civil Concernments, or our Spiritual: *Behold the Man*, that muſt cure all our Jealouſies, baniſh all our Fears, confirm all our Hopes, and ſettle all our Diſtractions? Laſtly, *Behold the Man*, that was deſign'd by the Divine Providence, that hath been preſerved by the Divine Power, that is qualified by the Divine Wiſdom, and brought home again to us by the Divine Goodneſs and Mercy, to *ſettle* and *prolong* the *State* of the Three Kingdoms.

The *State*, I ſay; and that 1ſt, as it ſignifies the *Government it ſelf* in the Eſſential and Legal Frame and Conſtitution of it: And 2ly, as it ſignifies *the outward Splendor of that Government*, ariſing from Peace, Plenty, Wealth, Strength, Security, Reputation, and whatſoever other Ingredients there are, to make a Nation happy.

But 1ſt, the *State* muſt be ſettled in the former of theſe Notions, as it ſignifies its Antient Legal and Eſſential Conſtitution, before it can be ſettled in the latter; I mean, in its *outward Splendor* and *Proſperity*. All we have ſuffered under ſo many Changes hitherto, hath been to no purpoſe, if we do not yet believe this Truth, if we are not yet grown ſo much wiſer than we were, as to be convinc'd, that our Old Government, without any Alteration at all in the *Fundamentals* of it, is beſt for us. And by the old Government, I mean the *thing*, as well as the *name* of *Monarchy*; and that in all its Parts, as well as in ſome of them; you cannot have the old Government in the *Civil Part* of the State, if you have it not in the *Eccleſiaſtical*; neither can the King be ſupreme in one, unleſs he be ſupreme in both: For where there are *two Supremes*, there can be *no Monarchy*. Now we know, that *Monarchy* is from God, and therefore we may know, that whatſoever is Deſtructive to Monarchy, or Inconſiſtent with Monarchy, is *not from God*, becauſe God's Ordinances cannot deſtroy or claſh one againſt another. But Thanks be to God and the King for it, our old Government is already *reſtor'd* in both the Parts of it; and yet it cannot properly be ſaid to be *reſtored*, until it be *ſettled*, as it was before; and *ſettled as it was before*, I am afraid, it is *not yet*, I hope it *will be*: And when our Good Old Government Civil and Eccleſiaſtical is once ſettled; *then*, but not *till then*, we may expect, that the Antient Splendor and Honour, together with the Peace, Proſperity and Security of the *Engliſh Nation* will be reſtored and ſettled alſo. And as the reſtoring and ſettling of the *latter*, doth depend upon the reſtoring and ſettling of the *former*; ſo it is the *preſerving* of the *former*, that muſt be the *prolonging*

longing of the *latter*; for as long as our *Old Government* is *preserved*, so long and no longer will our *Peace* and *Prosperity* be *prolonged*; and therefore let all those that desire and hope for the *continuance* of the *one*, endeavour and pray for the *continuance* of the *other*.

In the mean time, blessed be the great and good God, for all those great and good things which he hath already done for us. For which of us would have believed a little above a year ago, that ever he should have lived to have seen *this Day*? Nay, who is there amongst us, that upon condition he might have *liv'd to see this Day*, would not have been content to have *Dy'd* the *next Day* after? And now we do see it, do we not almost doubt, whether we see it indeed or no? Or do we not seem unto our selves to be like unto those that *dream*? May we not say of this so great, so sudden, so wonderful a *Change* from what we *were of late*, to what *we are now*, as St. *Paul* saith of the calling of the *Jews*, that it is like the *Resurrection* from the *Dead*? Certainly, no Joy on Earth can exceed it, and I do verily believe, that the *Angels* in *Heaven* have their share in it. For if there be so *great Joy in Heaven* (as our Saviour tells us there is) *at the Conversion of any one Sinner*; how much *greater Joy* is it then, that is now there, at the Conversion of *Three so great, so sinful Nations*? Nay, if the Saints above know any thing of what is done here below, either by Intuition of God, or Revelation from God, certainly *that great and blessed Saint, that happy and glorious Martyr*, the *Father* of our *present Soveraign*, was never so much grieved with the *Injuries* and *Indignities* that were done unto *himself*, as he is now *well-pleased* with *this Day's Solemnity*, and with the due Rights and Honours which are now, with so universal a Chearfulness paid unto his *Son*. And therefore *with Angels and Arch-angels and all the Host of Heaven*, let us laud and magnifie the glorious Name of God, and joyn with the Heavenly Quire in that *Heavenly Anthem*, which was first sung at the *Birth* of our *Saviour*, and may most seasonably be sung over again at the *Inauguration of our King*, *Glory be to God in the highest, on Earth Peace, Good Will towards Men*. And may *this Day* be *annually* and for *ever* repeated with the same Joy and Exultation wherewith it is now *Celebrated*. Let the *King* have always more and more cause to bless God for his *People*, and let the *People* have always more and more cause to bless God for their *King*; and let the prolonging of *Days* to the *one*, be the prolonging of *Happiness* to the *other*. And to this End, may he live to see his *Subjects*, as well as his *Children*, to the third and fourth Generation. And when he hath settled God's House, and his own, the *Church* and the *State*, and seen them both flourish, and like to continue in a flourishing condition; when he is full of Days and Honour, and when God hath no more Work for him to do here; *then*, and *not till then*, may he exchange the *Crown of Cares he wears on now*, for a *Crown of Glory*, which he *shall wear for ever*: And let us all love *God* and the *King*, their *Country*, and *themselves*, say, *Amen*.

FINIS.